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VOL. VII.—NO. 25.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 19, 1897.

THE PEOPLE

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# The People.

## MASSACRE Committed by Capitalists and their Political Lackeys.

### ONWARD, SOCIALISTS!

The Affair at Hazleton is an Act of Un-  
precedented Capitalist Felony, Partici-  
pated in by the Whole Capitalist  
Class, and in Which the Labor Fakir  
Shares the Full Responsibility—The  
Importance of Sound and Speedy  
Socialist Education to Prevent the  
Continuance of Such Acts and also of  
Fruitless Acts of Retribution.

Hazleton, Pa., witnessed last week,  
and continues to witness a scene that,  
so far, touches the highest water mark  
of capitalist infamy in the country. It  
connects directly with similar, though  
not as glaring acts in the past, and it  
points to similar and infinitely worse  
ones to come—unless headed off by the  
Social Revolution.

A Sheriff, with a posse of about 100  
men, recruited from the ranks of the  
mine-owners' class itself and its re-  
tainers, meets a procession of miners  
who were unarmed and exercising their  
constitutional right of peaceful assem-  
blage. The Sheriff and his fellow thugs  
forthwith open fire, kill on the spot  
some 19 miners, mortally wound some  
10 more and injure more and less se-  
verely a much larger number, MANY  
OF THE KILLED AND WOUNDED  
BEING SHOT IN THE BACK.

Forthwith a warrant of arrest is se-  
cured against the cold-blooded assas-  
sins, but the server of the process of  
the Court of Justice finds his path bar-  
red by bayonets. The mine-owners,  
some of whom had personally been  
among the Sheriff's posse, and whose  
children and other dependents had con-  
stituted that squad, the rioters in-  
fected, had issued their orders to the po-  
litical representative of their brigand  
class, the Governor of the State, for  
"protection," and without delay he  
obeyed their order. Gen. Gobin and a  
regiment of soldiers are sent to the  
place to protect the rioters against the  
just indignation of the community, and  
this armed arm of the State shields  
the assassins to-day from the order for  
their arrest!

Nor is this all! As if to demonstrate  
the class-consciousness of the capital-  
ist class and hold that up as a reproach  
to the working class, whose masses  
still ignore their class unity, from one  
end of the country to the other the  
capitalist press breaks out in hosannas  
of praise for the Sheriff who led, for  
his deputies who helped to execute, and  
for the Governor of Pennsylvania and  
his General Gobin who rushed to pro-  
tect the execrable felons! Here, in New  
York, in particular, the exhibition is  
most striking. The Tammany Hall  
Democratic and Tom Platt Republican  
Press, on the one hand, and the Seth  
Low Citizen's Union press on the other,  
that had just previously been scratch-  
ing out each other's eyes in their  
wrangle to control the city, and who  
are still at this work of political de-  
pravity, stopped for a moment in their  
private quarrel and in unison raised  
their voices in praise of the "Sheriff of  
Luzerne County."

What is it that these papers praise?  
The Sheriff's story bears the mark of  
falsehood on its face. It contradicts  
itself, and furthermore his own appear-  
ance belies his yarn about having suf-  
fered violence. Not a scratch is on his  
body, nor are his clothes in the least  
ruffled. He and his started the riot  
in which only they participated; and,  
in view of the fact that so many of the  
wounded and killed were hit in the  
back, the evidence is clear that, in this  
riot, all the barbarism of criminal ruf-  
fianism animated the shooters; that  
the principle of civilized warfare, that  
the fleeing foe is spared, was here not  
thought of, on the contrary, it seems  
to have incited the murderers. Even  
if, indeed, the innocent procession of  
miners had been an aggressive force  
and had deserved the Sheriff's fire,  
their flight should have put an end to  
the carnage; to the Sheriff and his fel-  
low assassins the flight of the miners  
only offered an opportunity for further  
carnage. Finally, the event acquires  
peculiar significance from the circum-  
stance that his time the Sheriff's de-  
puties were not recruited, as they usually  
are, from the admittedly depraved clas-  
ses of society; they were the "élite" of  
the place, "distinguished citizens."

The blood of the miners that bespat-  
ters the Sheriff and his posse, bespat-  
ters the whole capitalist class, and  
every member thereof. It is their work;  
the crime is theirs collectively; collec-  
tively they incited it; collectively they  
committed it; collectively they are  
cheering and protecting it; and collec-  
tively they are its beneficiaries—so far.  
But the roll of criminals is not com-  
plete if we look only at the capitalist  
class, at our precious "élite." Along-  
side of them, sitting in the same prison-  
ers' dock, manacled in the same chain-  
gang, and indicted in the same indict-  
ment, is that scoundrel crew of labor  
fakirs—the Gomperses, McBrides, Sov-  
ereigns, Ratchfords, Prescotts, Per-

kings, McGuire, etc., etc., etc.—with-  
out whose aid our capitalist "élite"  
could not to-day enjoy the double ad-  
vantage of not only being in full pos-  
session of the governmental powers,  
but of finding the working class in gen-  
eral, and the miners in particular, so  
wholly at the mercy of their exploit-  
ers and oppressors. Capitalists' under-  
strappers are these and all other labor  
fakirs; the guilt that attaches to the  
former is shared by the latter—both  
sets are arraigned before the bar of  
Conscience, before the bar of the Spirit  
of the Age, and are pronounced guilty,  
a thousand times guilty!

But in the midst of all this, while the  
blood of the Hazleton victims cries up  
to heaven for vengeance, and small pots  
get hot and fly off at the handle, the  
Socialist is all the cooler, all the more  
collected, and urges sober thought.

What has happened and will continue  
to happen is as natural as that 2 and 2  
should make 4. Indeed, the wonder  
would be if it had not happened, or  
should cease to happen, so long as that  
system is allowed to continue that is  
based upon rapine and needs rapine to  
uphold it—the CAPITALIST SYS-  
TEM.

Under the Capitalist system the na-  
tion's machinery of production, the ma-  
chinery of production without which  
wealth cannot be produced, is held by  
private concerns for private profit. This  
needed capital is not the fruit of the  
industry or thrift of those who hold it;  
it is the fruit of their crime. No capital-  
ist concern can be named that has  
not for its foundation some black fel-  
ony. With the power conferred to the  
felon class by its original felony, it is  
able to perpetuate its felonious deeds:  
The law, to which it owes obedience,  
drives increased numbers of people into  
wage slavery, and drives down the wage  
slave proletariat into ever deeper  
depths of privation. Such a system  
breathes felony at every pore. It  
breaches felony at the mouth of its rifles  
placed in Sheriff's hands; it utters fel-  
ony by the acts of the politicians—  
Presidents, Governors, Mayors, Courts—  
whom it sets into power; it feloniously  
putrifies the atmosphere through the  
pen of its apostles, like Carroll D.

Wright, who are discovered to be di-  
rectors in insurance concerns that go  
down in fraudulent crashes; it breathes  
felony in the brains of the weak minds  
of men who develop into labor fakirs;  
—its trail is marked by capitalist riots  
against Tennessee free miners, by mur-  
ders in Buffalo, Brooklyn, Chicago,  
Boston, Washington—throughout the  
country, and its path is lighted by the  
lurid light of Hazleton assassinations.  
To simply indignant at this childish;  
to fly in its face is thoughtlessness and  
recklessness, a thoughtlessness and  
recklessness comparable with that of  
the Haitian insurrectionists, who, igno-  
rant of what a cannon meant, grabbed  
it by the muzzle—and got blown up;  
not until they learned the nature of the  
thing they had to deal with, and were  
systematically drilled for freedom did  
they succeed in wrenching the engine  
of force from the French and drive  
their oppressors from the country.

So now, the attitude of consternation  
among the workers, their indignation  
and their wrath at this moment can  
lead to no good. It may cause the mas-  
sacre of many of their oppressors, but  
civilization cannot prosper by mas-  
sacres, much less by fruitless ones.  
Rage may reek vengeance, but it is de-  
prived of the intelligence that removes  
the provocation for vengeance; the acts  
of rage that the untutored, and undis-  
ciplined, because untutored working  
masses might indulge in, would react  
upon themselves, like the first thought-  
less acts of the Haitian insurgents. The  
mission of the Socialists becomes at  
such times all the more important: It  
is to tutor the proletariat on the nature  
of the beast they have to deal with; to  
discipline them into an aggressive, re-  
volutionary political party, and lead  
them to the ballot box, there to take  
possession by the conquest of the public  
powers, of the machinery of govern-  
ment needed to throw down the capital-  
ist class and enshrine the working class  
under the dome of the Socialist com-  
monwealth, where he who works shall  
live, and the felon who can and won't,  
shall die.

In pursuit of this course of education,  
with the Hazleton assassination as an  
object lesson, the National Executive  
Committee has issued to the sections of  
the party the order to call public meet-  
ings, in obedience where to Section  
Greater New York has issued the fol-  
lowing call:

Workersmen of New York and Vicin-  
ity!  
Twenty-four of your fellow wage  
slaves have been murdered in cold  
blood at Hazleton, Pa., by a body of  
mine owners and their retainers.  
Without even the pretence of law,  
another representative of the capitalist  
class, Gen. Gobin, keeps the place under  
martial law, and prevents the arrest of  
the criminals.  
Right here, in this city, the capitalist  
politicians applaud the parasite cap-  
italist class cheers, and the prostituted  
capitalist press approves the heinous  
deed; and the city officials seek to re-  
press a free expression of popular in-  
dignation.

Scenes like this, and treatment like  
this, are becoming so numerous that it  
is imperative for you to arrive promptly  
at a clear understanding of your situa-  
tion.

The SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY,  
alone the upholder of the rights of the  
working class, summons you to a mon-  
ster demonstration of your indignation,  
by joining it in a parade, to start from  
the Labor Lyceum, 64 E. 4th street, this  
Saturday, Sept. 18th, at 7:30 p. m., and  
march with it to a mass meeting at  
Union Square.

ORGANIZER,  
Section Greater New York, S. L. P.  
Hungarian Workmen, Attention.  
A mass meeting to consider the Hazle-  
ton outrage will be held at Progress  
Hall, 28 Avenue A, Thursday, the 16th,  
at 8 p. m. All on deck!

## THE HOME.

### It Cannot be Preserved Under Capitalist Rule.

The People's "Home" is not a Local  
Affair—Its Cornerstones are the Nation-  
—Capitalist Supremacy in the Municipality  
Tears Down that Home of the  
Workers to Build the Home of the  
Idle Capitalist.

Mr. Seth Low, in his letter of accept-  
ance, tries to show why municipal elec-  
tions have no concern with national  
politics. He says:

"As concerns the city's local affairs,  
it is not so much a part of the State as  
it is the HOME OF ITS INHABIT-  
ANTS."

Consequently, all it needs, according  
to him, is a business administration.

Mr. Low reasons falsely, and he knows  
it; Mr. Low plays herein a bunco game,  
and he is well aware of it. His own  
words, just quoted, prove this.

What is the "Home"? Is it a thing  
of air? No. The "Home" is the net re-  
sult of the industrial conditions of the  
land, plus all the laws—National, State  
and Municipal—that, like hoops, keep  
the barrel together.

Would Mr. Low, as a type of his, the  
capitalist class, have a HOME with well  
filled larder, wine cellar, clothing, fuel,  
books, etc., if he had not the money to  
procure these with? No. And could he  
and his class get the money to procure  
them, seeing that neither he nor they  
do now, or ever did perform, a useful  
stroke of work, unless the social system,  
grounded on capitalism and buttressed  
by capitalist National, State and Muni-  
cipal class law, enabled him and them to  
get at that money, wherewith to keep up  
his HOME? Certainly not.

Again:  
What sort of a HOME can the work-  
ingman have, who, compelled by the  
NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS to sell his  
labor power in the labor market like  
potatoes or spittoons, is compelled to  
put up with a decreasing pittance?

What sort of a HOME can the work-  
ingman have whose wages are so low  
that he must live cramped up with wife  
and children in pestilence-breeding and  
capitalist-owned tenement houses,  
KEPT UP BY MUNICIPAL AND  
STATE AUTHORITY?

What sort of a HOME is there for  
that workingman and woman, who, like  
so many others, are mutilated in the  
factory, owing to the capitalist viola-  
tion of the Factory Acts, and to the in-  
tervention of the STATE COURTS, who  
throw their cases out of Court and leave  
them crippled and unindemnified?

What sort of a HOME is there for the  
children of the workingmen who, thanks  
to both NATIONAL AND STATE IN-  
STITUTIONS, are forced into the fac-  
tories, or are kept on the streets?

What sort of a HOME is there for a  
workingman, who strikes for higher  
wages, and in maintenance of the State  
laws, ordering that the hours of work  
on railway lines shall not be more than  
10 a day, and then is shot down by  
militias sent upon him by the NATION-  
AL AND THE STATE AUTHOR-  
ITIES, AT THE REQUEST OF THE  
MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES?

None; and yet again, none!

Indeed, all politics concern the  
HOME of the people; and that very fact  
bars the Seth Lows as well as the Platt,  
the Tammanies, the Silver Mine Demo-  
crats, the Gold Mine Republicans—all  
representatives of the capitalist class  
from being trusted with the safeguard-  
ing of our HOMES. The fact that all  
politics concern the HOME of the  
people, that it is for a HOME that men  
vote, overthrows all pretences, unmasks  
all pretenders, and leaves the fact stand-  
ing out clear that, just because the  
HOME is the issue, the working class  
must take possession of every office,  
from the smallest municipal one to the  
highest; all such offices being but props  
to the HOMES of the class that holds  
them, and holes into the HOMES of the  
class that does not own them.

Seth Low's class, together with the  
class of all the other capitalist polit-  
icians, is fighting for its HOME. It is  
fighting to make that brighter and more  
luxurious. This means that it is fight-  
ing to put more holes into the HOMES  
of the working class of New York and  
render these drearier.

To save their HOMES and improve  
them, the workers of New York, and  
everywhere else, must march in a solid  
body to the ballot box, vote straight the  
Socialist Labor party's ticket, and crush  
into dust all other nominations, from  
Mayor up and down.

Little children in Yonkers, N. Y., are  
compelled to gather cinders and rags  
to help their parents in the struggle for  
existence. With such sights before it,  
a certain "Civic League" of that city,  
composed of kid-glove reformers, is  
turning its attention to petty sanitary  
regulations, and is dignifying its silly  
campaign with the title of a campaign  
against "public peril." Commenting  
upon these facts, Comrade Frederick  
Bennetts, of Yonkers, pertinently re-  
marks in one of the Yonkers papers:

"To my mind, a social system that  
forces our women and children to the  
factories and public 'dumps' and lets  
the men in their idleness wander the  
streets in search of the 'job' that cannot  
be obtained, should be the 'Public  
Peril.' In fact, it is 'The Public Peril.'"  
The social question cannot be solved by  
the enforcement of the sanitary laws—  
though, of course, all laws should be  
enforced. The Public Peril will not be  
abolished till such times as we abolish  
the capitalist competitive system and  
inaugurate a better social system found-  
ed upon the principles of equity."

## WORTHINGTON'S

### Account of Past and Present Conditions at the Hydraulic.

Trouble Among the Red Hook Em-  
ployees—Where it Started, How it  
Grew, and Where it is Now at—New  
Trade Unionism Looking Horns With  
and Throwing the Fakirs of Fakir O'-  
Connell's Machinists' Union.

There is trouble in the "Hydraulic,"  
and Red Hook is all worked up.

For the benefit of those who do not  
know what the "hydraulic" means,  
allow me to explain. The "Hydraulic"  
is a typical American factory. It is a  
factory employing 1,000 men, making  
"Worthington's Hydraulic Pumps."

The history of this factory, from its  
start, 50 years ago, to to-day, is the his-  
tory of the growth of the tool of pro-  
duction. It is the history of the growth  
of the small capitalist into the large one  
with all its accompanying features of  
favorable legislation, alliance with cor-  
rupt politicians, shut-downs, lock-outs,  
strikes, failure of British pure and  
simple trades unionism, exploitation of  
national illusions to bamboozle the  
workers, etc., etc.

When the salty breezes of Red Hook  
blew the stink of the steeage off old H.  
R. Worthington, and that astute old  
gentleman had made up his mind to in-  
vest his "savings" in tools for the man-  
ufacture of pumps, he had less money  
than one of his immense lathes would  
cost to-day. The lathe in those times  
(1840), was a primitive affair, half wood  
and half iron, slow to work, and awk-  
ward to handle, its side-partner, the  
planer, was no better.

The milling machine was in its in-  
fancy. The monitor lathe was unknown.  
The immense drill presses of to-day  
were unknown; instead, we had cumber-  
some affairs, that required skilled men  
to handle, the output of which was  
about one-tenth of the modern drill  
press.

The tool was then in its primitive  
state. The capital needed to secure it  
was small. That was the time when  
any man, by the direct application of his  
labor power, both physical and mental  
on land, could produce the tool of pro-  
duction needed to equip himself in the  
competitive struggle.

It was at this stage of the develop-  
ment of the tool Worthington invested  
his capital in a few rickety lathes and  
planers, built a wooden shanty at the  
corner of Rapelyea and Van Brunt  
streets, and laid the foundation for an  
immense fortune—a fortune that to-day  
enables his son to own a magnificent  
mansion at Irvington-on-the-Hudson,  
that rivals the splendor of the mansions  
of any of our uncrowned kings of trade  
along the Hudson, while he (the son) is  
rated in Bradstreet's as a multi-mil-  
lionaire, and his daughters are now in  
the market for the first shining light  
of Europe's decayed aristocracy that hap-  
pens along in search of some of the  
golden dollars that have been wrung  
from the sweat of the hydraulic wage  
slaves.

We need not concern ourselves now  
with any inquiries as to where the  
original Worthington got his capital.  
Whether it was by marrying a rich  
widow, or going into bankruptcy and  
swindling his creditors like Levi P.  
Morton, our late Governor, or commit-  
ting arson, or some other form of swin-  
dling, cheating or robbery, practised by  
our "Law, Order, Patriotism and Re-  
ligion" loving Capitalists, need not con-  
cern us at this late hour. It is not  
"Where did he get it?" but "What did  
he do with it?" that we must inquire  
into. He started by employing some  
dozen men, more or less. His men  
turned out a good pump for those days.  
His business grew rapidly. There were  
many pumps being built for the cities  
at this time, when the tide of im-  
migration had set in so strong, were  
springing up like mushrooms in a night.  
The business grew and developed; what  
is called "good wages" were being paid;  
constant work was assured for all  
hands. Contentment folded its peaceful  
wings over Red Hook Point.

This happy state of affairs could not  
last long. The tool continued to de-  
velop and grow; more men were needed,  
men more skilled in the various  
branches of the machine business, and  
this need of better mechanics was felt,  
not alone in Red Hook but all over the  
country. The budding bourgeoisie  
turned their eyes towards England, the  
home of the factory system, the home  
of the machine. Good positions and wages  
were promised, with the expected re-  
sult: a tremendous tide of emigration  
from England of wheel-wrights, ship-  
wrights, blacksmiths, etc., set in. These  
men were practical mechanics in every-  
thing the term implies. Each of them  
had served seven years to the business.  
They could go from the blacksmith shop  
to the tool room. Lathes, planers, drill-  
presses, milling machines, were all alike  
to them, nothing disconcerted them.  
They could hammer, file, chisel and  
turn. THEY WERE MONARCH OF  
ALL THEY SURVEYED.

If they had only brought their skill as  
machinists to the country all would  
have been well; but they brought also  
all the errors of British pure and  
simplicity with them. They had come  
from a land where the pure and simple  
trades union was a power, and when  
safely landed here, they failed to realize  
the difference in the institutions both  
political and economic that existed be-  
tween this country and England. They  
summed the situation up in their minds  
this way:

"The Pure and Simple trades union is  
good in England. Consequently it will  
be good in America. NO POLITICS IN  
THE UNION."

In making this glaring error they fol-

lowed in the footsteps of the original  
Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam.  
When the Dutch settled in New Amster-  
dam they looked around ye Old  
Bowerwey and discovered that some-  
thing they were accustomed to was  
missing. It was their beloved canal.  
When the little Dutch baby first opens  
his eyes the first thing it sees is a canal.  
So on until death or emigration takes  
him from Holland. The useful canal is  
always there. Those settlers in the New  
Amsterdam, reasoning as their English  
friends did 200 years later, said a canal  
is a good thing in old Amsterdam; let  
us build one in New Amsterdam. So  
they went to work and built a canal  
where canal street is now. In old Am-  
sterdam they built their rain pipes so as  
to carry the rain water from the roof  
where the water dropped into the canal.  
So in New Amsterdam they built the  
rain pipes the same; then the un-  
fortunate people received not alone the  
drops from heaven but the volumes of  
water from the roofs. This style of  
spout, our old Dutch reasoned, was good  
in old Amsterdam, where there was a  
canal to receive the water; ergo, it was  
all right in New Amsterdam, although  
there was no canal. It was this style of  
reasoning that the old trades unionist  
indulged in when they landed here.  
Their reasoning was the same as Peter  
Stuyvesant's Dutchmen. It was equally  
as fallacious. Just as those who came  
after the Dutch settlers had to go to  
work and fill in the canal and cut off  
the rain pipes, so have the new trades  
unionists to-day to go to work and fill  
in the pure and simple canal in which is  
sunk all the hopes, the aims and aspira-  
tions of the American workers, who  
have been fooled into joining the ranks  
of the British pure and simplers.

So far I have dealt with the English-  
speaking emigrants. Let us now look  
at the other nationalities. After the  
war, whilst the tide of capitalistic pro-  
gress was still Westward, the steamship  
companies pasted every tree, rock and  
dead wall of the Scandinavian cities  
with posters, telling of the new El  
Dorado in the West, of that land across  
the seas where money was to be got for  
the asking, that land where

Every hog, he hustled,  
Nary a one did die,  
Every thing was hunki dorey,  
And the cat hung high.

These alluring statements, nine-  
tenths of them lies, were sufficient to  
bring swarms of the brawny, fair-haired  
blue-eyed Norsemen, with their flaxen-  
haired wives, to the land of the Stars  
and Stripes. A large proportion of them  
were also machinists, not as skilled as  
their English and Irish forerunners,  
but owing to the development of the

tool to that stage at which skill was  
being fast eliminated, they were just as  
useful as the Britishers were thirty  
years earlier. Thus we now find, com-  
ing down to the eighties, that young C. C.  
Worthington (the old man had been  
gathered to his fathers in the mean  
time), had an immense army of wage  
slaves at his disposal—an army that was  
necessary in his business, that had now  
grown to vast proportions; an army of  
wage slaves that, thanks to their  
British pure and simple trade union  
training, and thanks to the corruption  
of their fakir labor leaders, had none of  
that unity of purpose that himself and  
his class possessed, possessed none of  
that solidarity of interest that was so  
necessary if they were to wring con-  
fessions from the exploiter, an army of  
wage slaves, that, owing to the blight-  
ing influence of old trades unionism,  
had one worker at the other's throat, an  
influence that built up an "aristocracy  
of labor" and wore out itself in trying  
to maintain it when it tottered to its  
fall; an influence that left the workers  
dismayed so that the drill-press man  
could not belong to the union that the  
lathe-hand belonged, so that the bolt-  
machine man was a pariah who could  
not enter the sacred gates of their  
trades union. The man who tapped the  
nuts or cut the iron was also out—the  
few remained within.

The time had now arrived when it  
was necessary for the old trades unions  
to do something. It had long been in a  
state of innocuous desuetude. The work-  
ers, who had been paying high dues so  
long, wanted something for their money.  
So the first and last strike of the  
hydraulic employees took place in the  
summer of 1888. With such a union,  
led by emecile fakirs, the only result  
could be defeat, and defeated the men  
were, although they stayed out for eight  
weeks their places were filled; back they  
had to come, whipped, and beg for the  
jobs they had left.

The Worthington firm had now be-  
come a stock company, with branch  
offices in London and Berlin. The cry  
went up from the idle shareholders for  
more profits; "the men were not work-  
ing fast;" some scheme had to be de-  
vised so that the slaves would be driven  
a little faster. They were nice slaves  
after all; they seemed to like their  
chains. They voted election after elec-  
tion for the political parties that rep-  
resented Worthington's class. If any one  
should propose for a moment that they  
should vote for a man of their own class  
on a platform of their own they would  
immediately tell him he was an "An-  
archist," a "crazy bug," (a name that  
they applied to me all the time), a  
foreigner; anything, in short, that their  
masters' newspapers told them about  
the Socialist. Yes, they were nice  
slaves. Drive them faster. Lash them  
harder. They seemed to like it. Give it  
to them. Having the desire, the means  
was soon found.

The contract system was introduced.  
The simplicity of this system was  
beautiful. Instead of four pay days in  
the month, there was five. They re-  
ceived their wages as usual, plus the  
amount of money made over and above  
their wages. The operation was as fol-  
lows: A man boring out cylinders would  
receive \$4.50 each. He would do six in a  
week—\$27. His wage was \$18, hence he  
was \$9 ahead, and did not work very  
hard at that. The men always had  
something up their sleeve. Those were  
glorious times for the Hydraulic wage

(Continued on Page 4.)

## "THE GATEMAN."

### Turn-Stiles on the Elevated Railroads To Displace Workers.

#### THEY NEVER STRIKE.

Eighty "Improved Gatemen," in the  
Shape of Automatic Turn-Stiles, Intro-  
duced on the "L" Roads, Throwing out  
One Hundred and Sixty Wage Slaves  
as a Starter, Giving So Much More  
Profits to the Labor Fleecers and So  
Much More "Prosperity" to the Fleeced  
Workers—Grinding out Recruits for  
the Socialist Labor Party.

During the past four months of  
promised prosperity 80 "improved gate-  
men" (turn-stiles) have made their bow  
to the down-trodden and meek patrons  
of the Manhattan "L" railroad of this  
humbugged city.

These 80 turn-stiles (or "improved  
gatemen") who don't have to be fed,  
have displaced 160 men, who have to be  
fed, or starve, or steal.

Each turnstile, which costs \$78, takes  
the place of two men (one day man and  
one night man), whose combined wages  
amount to the enormous sum (in the  
eyes of Russel Sage) of \$3 per day. In  
just 26 days the machine has paid for  
itself, because in that length of time it  
has saved its cost, \$78 in wages to the  
gatemen.

The gatemen are free—free to enlist  
in the vast army of the unemployed,  
whose number, according to the United  
States Labor Commissioner, Carrol D.  
Wright, sums up into the millions.

Another broad feature of the "im-  
proved gatemen" (which makes the  
stockholders smile) is that it saves the  
cost of thousands of tickets to the com-  
pany. Whenever the turn-stile is in use  
ticket selling has been abolished.

This "gateman" never goes out on  
strike, except when some hurrying pas-  
senger rushes through it and puts it out  
of order. Sometimes it gets pugilistic,  
when it hits a passenger a foul blow be-  
low the belt as he or she passes through.  
This "gateman" is an Ostrich-like be-  
ast, even strikes women, which brings in-  
sults upon the company.

Especially when it is tried before one of  
those judges whom it carries in its  
pocket.

Even the machinations of the brain  
in the head of the superintendent has  
displaced two train masters, several  
train dispatchers, two train starters and  
train clerks, which means wages saved;  
not human labor.

From appearances these aforesaid  
machinations are making Socialists out  
of the "L." I can take an affidavit to all  
that this letter contains.

#### A PICTURE.

The Way Harry Carless' Agitation Is  
Stringing Things in Louisville.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 8.—The  
first Socialist campaign on Kentucky  
soil can be put down (already at this  
early date) as an unqualified success.

Up to the time of Comrade Carless'  
arrival in Louisville we had held six  
open air meetings, with a total attend-  
ance of over 1,000 people. The crowds  
as a rule were quiet and orderly, and the  
close attention given to the remarks of  
the speakers clearly proved the deep in-  
terest taken in all that was said.

Comrades Leyle and Schmutz speak in  
English and Comrade Giffey in German.  
By having the latter speak last we find  
the arrangement to work very well.

On Sunday, September 5th, Comrade  
Carless spoke at Beck's Hall to a full  
house, illustrating his remarks with  
stereopticon views. It is safe to say  
that never in the history of the S. L. P.  
of this city was there witnessed a finer  
presentation of our principles and a  
more enthusiastic crowd. Every fine  
point made was vigorously applauded,  
and when at the close of the lecture the  
canvass the applause became deafening.  
The song section, under the able direc-  
tion of Comrade Laudolt, rendered sev-  
eral stirring selections, and thus ended  
one of the most enjoyable meetings of  
the year.

Monday (Labor Day) we had no meet-  
ing owing to the fact that several san-  
guine Comrades had thought it possible  
to have Comrade Carless as speaker at  
the Labor Day picnic of the Central  
Labor Union. But the fakirs



## THE PEOPLE.

Published at 154 William Street, New York,  
—EVERY SUNDAY—

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York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.

## SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1898 (Presidential).....	2,088
In 1894.....	12,331
In 1892 (Presidential).....	21,167
In 1894.....	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential).....	36,564

Inasmuch as great wealth is an instrument which is uniformly used to extort from others their property, it ought to be taken away from its possessor, on the same principle that a sword or a pistol may be wrested from a robber, who shall undertake to accomplish the same effect in a different manner.

Thomas Skidmore.

New York, 1829.

## To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party.

Comrades—In view of the brutal massacre of a great number of striking miners in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, perpetrated by a Sheriff's posse composed of the relatives and hangers-on of the mine owners, the National Executive Committee now call upon all Sections of the S. L. P. to at once arrange for demonstrations to protest against the outrage, and to utilize the occasion to show to the workers the true causes that underlie these occurrences.

Act with promptness and decision, and let each member do his utmost to make these demonstrations a propagandistic success, to the end that the repetition of such disgraceful scenes as the one enacted and enacted at Hazleton may be speedily ended by the speedy overthrow of the felonious Capitalist System, the abolition of Wages Slavery, and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

## UTOPIA AND PRACTICE.

If fire touches water, it is extinguished; if it touches gunpowder it produces an explosion. In both cases it is the same fire. The result of contact depends upon the thing touched.

The deepening want produced by the capitalist system, the increasing dependence it inflicts on the people, the instances of public wretchedness that it multiplies, fall upon a variety of minds and produce effects as different as the economic classes and the solidity of the minds in upon which it falls. An instructive illustration of this fact are two contemporaneous utterances in sight of the great modern phenomenon, the Unemployed.

One is a plank of the platform of one of the numerous political parties that have sprung up in this country during the last six months—the Progressive Party. It says:

"Progress and Humanity both demand the enactment of a National Government Employment Law, which shall become a permanent and an integral part of the Constitutional Law of these United States.

"Said law to guarantee to the citizens of this Republic the opportunity to sell their labor to the government and to insure in payment therefor a sum not less than One Dollar and Fifty Cents per day of eight hours."

The other is the resolution presented by the Gas Workers' Union at the Trade Union Congress that just convened in Birmingham, England:

"Believing that the unemployed problem can only be permanently solved when production for use is substituted for the present method of production for profit, this congress considers it is essential for the prosperity of the whole community to socialize the land and the whole of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and instructs the Parliamentary Committee to promote and support legislation with that object in view."

The fire of the Social Revolution, coming in contact with the bourgeois-controlled mind of the element that constitutes the Progressive party, goes out with a fizzle and a splutter that guarantees to the producers of all wealth a pittance of \$1.50 and insures to the sponging class all the rest of the workers' products; it compromises, by leaving the robber class in possession and with the power to keep up its depredations, while shielding the workers against utter annihilation.

On the other hand, that same fire of the Social Revolution, coming in contact with the fervid brain of the class-conscious proletariat, kindles a light by which Civilization can tread her path, and lead mankind out of the present slough.

The wildest utopian is the capitalist class which hurls itself into security with the belief that its infamous system, ripping up at all its seams, can be patched up, and is good for anything but the garbage barrel of history.

## POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

The New York "Sun," organ of Tom Platt, and the New York "Evening Post," organ of Seth Low, suspend for a moment their flinging of abuse at each other to join in a chorus of

"Bravo, Sheriff of Hazleton!"

This was timely; the quarrel between these two organs of the class that fleeces and then shoots the workers down was becoming so bitter that it might have veiled the fact that there is no real distinction between them, both being the mouthpieces of one identical system of brigandage.

Let this be remembered on election day.

In a review of the work to be presented to the British Trade Union Congress that was to meet on the 6th instant at Birmingham, the London "Justice" expresses the hope that the Socialist proposition be carried, and then adds very wisely:

"Not that it will make any difference, or that their rejection will show that there is any falling off from Socialism in the ranks of trade unionism, but simply that the composition of the congress is not so good as it has been."

Indeed, the time is coming fast when the reputed representatives of the rank and file of the workers in no way represent these; their utterances, one way or another, are no indication of what the rank and file thinks; and the chasm between these "representatives" and the rank and file is bringing out more and more clearly the fact that these pure and simple "representatives" are closer to and represent the boss class much better than they do the working class.

It is just so here.

The report of the national secretary of the German-American Typographical Union deserves credit for the following passage:

"We cannot close this report without addressing an earnest warning to our members, that they should put forth every effort to the end that the German compositors of this country step to the fore in the political movement the same as they have done in the economic. The economic struggle becomes every year harder and more futile; it can and must be a means to an end, but it alone can never free us from our chains. This can be accomplished only by a simultaneous move on the economic and the political field. Monopoly stands forth with ever greater brutality and recklessness, and, together with it, the Courts, all of which are subject to it. The Federal as well as the State Courts betray with ever increasing brazenness that they consider their mission to be, not to mete out justice to the working class, but to enslave it, and they issue ukases and injunctions that even a Czar of Russia would not dare to think of. In view of this, is it not our sacred duty to strive, with all the means at our command, that the political power be wrested from the hands of the exploiting classes, and be placed in the hands of the working class, of the producers of all wealth? But this cannot be done if, on election day, the workingman votes for either the Republican or the Democratic party, or for any other party that advocates the upholding of the present insane social system; it can be done only if the whole working class support with their ballot that party that stands upon the principle of the revolutionary class struggle, and aims at the overthrow of the present system of class rule."

The Yonkers, N. Y., "Statesman" persists in its praiseworthy efforts to demonstrate that its name is a misnomer, a sort of typographical error, and that its real appellation is "The Blockhead." It says, for instance:

"As a rule in this country, capital represents good judgment, industry and economy—and capitalists are the employers and friends of labor."

If the alleged "Statesman" knew what statesmanship meant, it would know that all statesmanship that deserves the name must stand on facts, not on fiction; and, instead of the above glaring falsification, it would have said:

"All capital, in this or any other country, represents theft, theft perpetrated with keen judgment upon the industry and economy of the working class. There is no capitalist, the start in whose career was not some misappropriation of funds, some fire, some failure, in short, some swindle of some sort or other; and whose subsequent career is not marked by the same sort of friendship for the workingman that the bed-bug has for his victim. Capital represents wealth produced by the workingman, but stolen from him by the capitalist; the capitalist is an idler, a parasite, a vampire, and the system under which this parasite is allowed to thrive and to murder workingmen, as he just did in Pennsylvania, is called the Capitalist System, a system that the working class and all intelligent and decent people are justly seeking to and will assuredly overthrow."

The Gollis and the murderous Pennsylvania Sheriffs and their deputies are sized up well in these few lines from the San Francisco "New Charter":

"There is a struggle in the world between the Anarchists at the top and the Anarchists at the bottom of society. The former are trying to hold on to their privileges by force, and the latter are trying by force to overthrow the former."

The Columbus, O., "Weekly Trades Ledger," of the 4th instant, furnishes a pretty sight; it illustrates theory and practice. No one can charge it with inconsistency.

On one page it has this to say upon the Socialists:

"It always strikes me on reading one of their articles on the social problems that it was written on the painful stress of an overdose of sour apples; that they wanted something for nothing, no matter what it cost somebody else; that the writer had but one idea, and another one in his head at the same time would cause a split in his head."

This much for the "Weekly Trades Ledger's" theory. Now for its practice. On another page there appear the pictures of not less than seven Republican and Democratic capitalist politicians, all of them conspicuous fleecers of labor, and to their pictures are added flaming biographical notices. Never yet has theory fitted practice, and practice theory more completely.

The "Weekly Trades Ledger" evidently proceeds from the theory that a sour apple diet is a thing to be avoided at all hazards; consequently, it lines its larders with good provisions with the bribe it receives from the political skippers of the workmen for booming them.

The "Weekly Trades Ledger" is a conscientious concern, too conscientious to want "something for nothing"; consequently, for the bonus it receives from the labor-skinning politicians it gives them their money's worth, to wit, a full page of space, and also the hides of whatever workingman its puffs of capitalist politicians may succeed in cheating.

The "Weekly Trades Ledger" does not believe in having only one idea, that would not bring in corruption funds from sufficient sources; consequently, it has room for as many ideas as there may be capitalist parties—the location of its ideas being its pockets, and these being spacious enough to remove all fear of their splitting, however contradictory the "ideas" may be that pour into them.

All honor to the consistency of the "Weekly Trades Ledger."

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" punctures very wittily the "victories" of which pure and simpleminded is wont to brag, in the following style:

"Hooray! Hooray! The country is safe at last. I cannot appoint John Grace superintendent of the City Hall," says the Mayor of Cincinnati, "because of the protest against him from the labor union people." Thus organized labor is vindicated and wage slavery has received its death-blow. Cincinnati is on the map, you bet. We don't know who Grace is, but that he will not be Grand High and Exalted Chief Spitoon Cleaner of the City Hall of Cincinnati is glory enough. Let the band play!"

This is a good pen sketch and landscape of New England from the Johnston, R. I., "Beacon":

"The times may well be called troublous. The cotton mills of New England are closing their doors on all sides and the managers are busy explaining that McKinley and the tariff have nothing to do with it. The docile wage slaves who ambled meekly along in protection and prosperity paradises—purely to please themselves and by no means at the behest of their bosses—are acting as though they didn't hear a word. None of them has the courage to cry out: 'Sold again.' That is their condition nevertheless."

## SETH LOW.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by S. K., Brooklyn.]

Mr. Seth Low  
Didn't say No;  
From books deep and profound  
He stepped into rough political ground.

He is a philosopher,  
With a good strong coffer;  
A "heart for the poor,"  
"Against corruption secure."

One could swear almost  
That he would be fair and just;  
Would do neither good nor much bad,  
According to the life he always led.

A foolish little hobby he has,  
Nevertheless  
It is called arbitration,  
With which he would conciliate all creation.

For instance: If the sun's rays would be  
piercing hot,  
Making suffer all, from giant to tot;  
When in tenements people would undergo  
cremation,  
Mr. Seth Low would settle it through  
arbitration.

Or in the winter, when gloomy and cold,  
The poor would suffer miseries untold,  
And coal were kept by the barons' coalition,  
Mr. Seth Low would settle it with arbitration.

Or when a hundred thousand be out of  
work,  
And hunger and suffering in every  
corner lurk,  
When women and children will daily  
face starvation,  
Mr. Seth Low would remedy it with arbitration.

In the first instance he will arbitrate  
with the sun,  
And see that justice will be done;  
In the second, he'll use his influence  
with the cold,  
Or arbitrate with the barons with  
sagacity untold.

In the third, when thousands will be  
unable to find a job,  
And will have either to starve, beg or  
rob,  
With no sympathy or help from "the  
communism of pelf,"  
Mr. Seth Low will have to arbitrate with  
himself.

Hasten then, oh believers in arbitration  
To support the man of "learning,"  
coffer and fashion!  
Put ye that have eyes and ye that have  
brain,  
Enter ye the S. L. P. domain!

## THAT \$1-WHEAT PROSPERITY.

The Prosperity Boomer, the Calamity  
Howler and the Socialist.

It has arrived—this Prosperity—at last. At least the report of it has, or rather the report that it is as good as here. Has not the farmer the assurance of dollar wheat, even more? being blessed by William the Tinkerer, his miraculous pen, and his magic signing with it, so assuring a phenomenal harvest, when the balance of the world's harvest was so deficient? Even Democrats admit it tardily, though they would mar the effect somewhat by imputing the bounteous harvest to Providence rather than to William. Stewart, of Nevada, is a bull among bulls, and advises his "friends in the West to fall in line with the forces of prosperity and progress and receive their due share of the reward," adding, "the time has passed for the old issues. We must turn to face new issues and new conditions." (I wonder what "new conditions" await the wage worker.) Jones, of Nevada, says that "I am not opposed to prosperity through an increase in gold." (Still tangled.) "The Republicans are very lucky;" and "Another result that will flow from an abundance of money, be it silver or gold, will be the abeyance of this hatred of trusts." (Hardly so, by the business runts, John.) "I cherish no enmity toward the concentration of capital." The poor calamity howler, who was so anxious for every one to drop all convictions and such trifles, and "join hands," etc., etc., to drive away this calamity, to bring on this identical prosperity by the use of his patent drops already uncorked, nor claps hands to his distracted head, hardly sure of the ground beneath him. For that self same prosperity is here. "Money plentiful," "capital seeking investment," "farmers' prospering," "prices rising," wheat going up, silver going down, while ringing in his ears yet, from last fall, are these words of Bryan, "As the price of silver falls, so falls the price of wheat." "Bulls in charge;" in short, all the ear marks of just the kind of prosperity that last fall he prayed for, lied for, fought for, and did the best he could to swindle the wage worker into voting for, with his crocodile tears for the "common people, who he said Abraham Lincoln said that the Lord must have loved for he made so many of them; in distinction to the 'worthy poor' of the capitalist, and his adherence of trusts, combines Corporate Greed and such, and now to hear Jones say: "I cherish no enmity toward the combination of capital." We believe you, Jones, for when the Sugar Trust recently needed two votes to get their legal protection at Washington, Stewart and Jones, both of Nevada, voted for the trust. Oh, you calamity howler, you wanted all to depend on your free silver for deliverance; and Japan is losing by it at 32 to 1; and Coxey, Populist nominee for Governor of Ohio, equally dislikes both gold and silver, and the Populists of Iowa, also Boise, have followed suit, and your silver miners have commenced running for gold instead of silver; and your farmer is "getting elevated" by dollar wheat, and your "wheels of industry" are "getting elevated" by Dingley tariffs, and both will "extend it to labor," instead of your silver baron doing it, and all this was impossible without your "patent drops, already uncorked," Calamity Howler, your balloon has busted; you had better talk greenbacks for a change, which I believe you will, as we wish to bid you a tearless long farewell.

Yet, on looking closely, some things appear hardly so satisfactory as at first glance. The iron and steel scale has been signed for the year; true, but what a reduction, and in the face of a higher tariff. And again, what means this terror-stricken attempt to form a combination among the small steel manufacturers that the Pittsburgh "Dispatch" gives lengthy details of? Why, this: Oliver, Carnegie and Rockefeller, owning as they do, the vast ore fields, steam scoops digging same, instead of men doing it; docks, and almost a monopoly of the lake carrying trade; finally build the Pittsburgh Bessemer and Lake Erie road from docks direct to their works around Pittsburgh, probably the most efficient and modern road to date, hauling ore one way and coal on return trip, which places the entire trade at their mercy. "Capital seeking investment" this. Then the potters may have the 12½ per cent. reduction in wages restored—until December. The widow blowers much the same; the bottle blowers, in addition to the griefs of non-union competition and consequent concessions therefrom, find 200 of their craft displaced by machines at Ball Bros. mammoth factory in the western district. It is claimed that jars can now be made by machinery cheaper than tin cans. And by this time the miners probably have found out the difference between electing Judges, Governors, Mayors and Sheriffs for their bosses rather than to do so for themselves, seeing that the workingmen have the majority. Yes, many things about this new era of hope and confidence look suspiciously like the old things we have our opinions about through bitter experience.

But what have those who work for wages, having no business to "boom," to say about all this? We read the papers and can see what the balance of society says. One thing sure—we are not thinking of being satisfied with any such prosperity, and we have never asked or striven for such, or its like. Our organized political party as such has recognized, and clearly expounds, the truth that underlies all social movements, and such is accessible to all who want to know. And as production and exchange get gradually in motion, the pace accelerating, it breaks into a trot, and the industrial trot becomes a gallop, and this, in turn, increases to the headlong run of a complete stepphase of industry, commerce, credit and speculation, finally to land again, after break-neck jumps, in the ditch of the crash, we will see it all, and understand it, flying off as no tangent and going into no hysterics. We know that this prosperity is like all of its predecessors, and we will in no wise countenance the claim by the Republicans that any credit is due them for their part in it. We can remember that the panic of the 70's originated, flourished and died all under the Republican administration, and that this one started and will probably end in one, without the administration (either Republican or Democratic) being

able to do a thing to control it. One thing sure: increasing our cost of living at a time when we cannot have our wages increased to meet it, which is really a reduction in wages, and at the same time in so many cases reduce the actual wages in addition, is a poor way to coddle us. Even were our wages to be doubled, and our work steady, and our hours of labor shortened without affecting the cost of living, it would only add to our spirits and animal strength, and, like the capitalist, the more we had the more we would want, only, unlike the capitalist, we would want our own.

The proportion of our wages to the amount of the product of our labor is growing less, and we know it, and will resent it, and it makes no difference whether we are better off than our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers or not. The best there is, and all of it, is what we want, and nothing short of it, and since we made it all, we are justified to claim it, and since we are in the majority, we are able to take it. The S. L. P., with its standard, stands as our gon-falon or carroccio; for the wage worker to rally round, until the word: "March! March! Men wanted! Men wanted! Wages—all the product! Conditions—equality! Fall in! fall in!"

O. N. E. LACKALL.

## PEPPER AND SALT.

PETER E. HURROWEN.

The middle class evolution fakir, having blindly struck a competitor or two in business somewhere delicately near the belt, sits down to enjoy the gate money, and to consider how it is that blindness hits where sight and science miss. Then he discovers that he has discovered the solar plexus of the unfavorable variation: "Hence and henceforth fall down and worship me. I am the survival of the fittest."

This middleclasser believes:  
First—The State is a nuisance, except when controlled by his private corporations; that its armies, and navies may be equipped by the nation, but should be used against the nation under the command of his great captains of industry.  
Second—The Constitution is also a nuisance, except as amended and interpreted by corporation councilors.

All law is likewise a nuisance except when subject to final repeal by Supreme Courts, subject to his influence and direction.

A pitiless attack upon all those who have failed to get on in the world is the tuning fork that pitches the key for Anarchist philosophers and Christian commercialists—or commercial Christians—for he who fails under a hide-and-seek civilization, which plucks the eyes out of its children before they leave school—ought to fail indeed.

As the founder of the Christian religion said "Woe unto you when your light is darkness." When you build the walls of your cities with dynamite for mortar and appoint your capitalists as captains of the forts.

Why should any Anarchist want to change our present system since their philosophers claim that the failures in a competitive system are unworthy of sympathy and incapable of restoration. Every failure will only prove once more to the diseased minds of American and English gentlemen how perfect the system is in which the man who failed had no shirt. Can anything be more perfect? No lot, no house, no bank account, no shirt! The testimony is complete! The inference obvious! Did you ever see a failure with diamonds on him, and rings, and deeds?

If we are to go in for what we call (in our grip-sack philosophy) the personal merit of the poor man, what are we to do? Who has personal merit? At \$10,000 rents a year, at 1,000 cents a year, or at 75 cents a day?

Notwithstanding your three bottles of wine, which make you eloquent to-day, you have no more individualism for merit, my dear Wall Street man, than a mosquito, concerning which mosquitoes let me say, bless them that buzz before they bite, and curse them that buzz not at all, but get away with your blood in secret and silence, and leave you only a treatise on political economy or a New York paper.

When the future construction age goes in for house-keeping on its own account it will have a lot of lumber to dispose of. It will be at a loss what and how much of it to save. Take a word of advice. Save not your heroes. Away with your great accidents of politics and war. But save every recorded thought, every aspiration of the common man. For future teachers give us not our old masters, but give us back ourselves. Socialism, with its flood of light, its generous stream of life, its lone social vistas, its common strong pulse of manhood, will require and create its own teachers and its own models.

"Sir Lucius O'Trigger, if you love me keep telling me about my honor," said the unfortunate duellist when he felt his courage oozing out at the ends of his fingers. So a commercial success, with meanness, roguery, dishonesty and cowardice in every fibre of him, gets into the cabinet of a profit-mongering nation.

Hark to that word! Say it again, Mr. Mouse. "Honor, honor." Yes, and that other. "Dignity, dignity." Yes, I begin to feel a statesman already. Go on. "Courage, patriotism." Enough; build me fleets, raise me armies, and I'll send them somewhere to make things hum. Look out Pittsburgh, Homestead and elsewhere.

The capitalist in politics is a man confessedly without any public principle for good, and without any private principle whatever to qualify for public affairs. Watch him in ante-election politics and you see an Indian (though not a brave) on the trail—sinuous, spineless, now creeping, now crouching. Now erect watching the flight of a stray flock of voters. Now prone, with ear to earth, listening for the tread of a constituent. Now meditating, coining a lie on coinage. Now in full bound as the sun reveals an opening that may expose him. An Indian—false, fertile, treacherous, lying low till election day. Then behold him! Dressed with all the lordliness of Hanna and all the brutal frankness of Reed. But under all, the same old scent for scalps.



UNCLE SAM &amp; BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—What is martial law?

Uncle Sam—Martial law is the régime that prevails under a state war; civil law and its procedures are suspended, and summary orders are enforced.

B. J.—Then there is martial law in Hazleton, Pa.?

U. S.—What makes you think so?

B. J.—A bench warrant has been issued from one of the Pennsylvania courts to arrest the murderer, Sheriff Martin, but the military commander, Gen. Gobin, forbids the serving of the warrants. Don't that indicate martial law?

U. S.—Certainly that does.

B. J.—Then also, the Constitution and the laws guarantee the right to keep and bear arms, but Gen. Gobin has forbidden the carrying of any. Is not that martial law?

U. S.—That certainly is.

B. J.—Then, the right of peaceful assembly and petition is a civic right; is it not?

U. S.—So it is.

B. J.—But Gen. Gobin does not allow it. What is that but martial law?

U. S.—'Tis martial law, sure.

B. J.—Now, then, what I don't understand is this: in the face of actual martial law this Gen. Gobin declares there is no martial law there, and that he is only under the orders of the civil authorities.

U. S.—There is nothing confusing about that.

B. J.—Well it does puzzle me, and I call it an outrage.

U. S.—That comes from your not yet having submitted your head to thorough house-cleaning. If you had swept from it the cobwebs of ideology with the broom of fact, the handle of which is, in such matters inscribed with the motto: "Unquestioned Might is Unquestioned Right," you would understand it all quick enough.

B. J.—Then you mean we workingmen have no rights?

U. S.—None whatever that you throw away, or care not to maintain.

B. J.—But I am not throwing away my rights; here I am foaming at the mouth at this Hazleton outrage.

U. S.—To foam at the mouth is not to maintain a right; foaming at the mouth is not even an evidence of understanding a right. You have, on the contrary, given all the evidence I need to show me that you have not the remotest conception of your rights, or even what a right is.

The "Right" that expects to be respected by others, against their own interests, without providing itself with the "Might" to enforce itself is a booby.

You and the rest of the working class, being the overwhelming majority, have the power to vote yourselves the military and all other powers into your own hands. You have not done that. You persist in voting into power the capitalist class through its Republican, Democratic and Citizens' Union political parties. You thus give them the Might, and they use that to protect their own interests. What are Constitutions, what are laws except things to enable the ruling class to rule and protect their interests. Place yourselves in power, then you give evidence that you understand Right, and then it will be enforced.

Don't now go about snickering and foaming at the mouth, crying "Outrage!" Gen. Gobin, the murderer Sheriff Martin are committing no act that is not in obedience to a mandate issued by yourself and all the workingmen who vote any ticket other than that of their own class—the Socialist Labor party ticket!

## CORRESPONDENCE.

A View on Debs.

To THE PEOPLE—I am glad to notice that our national organ is at last taking the proper position regarding Debs. Any movement Debs has ever been in he has been surrounded by political and other fakirs—some of whom he knew to be such. If he was—or is—a Socialist, why pursue the contemptible course he has? I read his utterances of this year, and they are the same meaningless vapors of four years ago. He is a regular Bourbon, I. e., never learns; never forgets. He has had more chances to learn than any other yahoo I know of, and has been treated with greater consideration than men who were no greater fools and misleaders than he. He has practically no following, and do you notice the similarity between his highfalutin expressions and the "thought garlands" of the lamented "Jeems" Sovereign? The same baneful meaningless throwing together of vapid absurdities, such as his telegram to the "Social Democrat" from the miners' strike field.

How he does taffy the boodle brigade! Debs is evidently hopelessly and unalterably a yahoo.

THE PEOPLE will have to attack him sooner or later; let it be sooner.

ARTHUR KEEP.

Washington, D. C., Sept. 9.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following news stores in Providence:  
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Singers, ho!

Comrades with good voices who wish to join an English Socialist Singing Society are requested to address  
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## THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON.

By KARL MARX.

[Translated from the German for THE PEOPLE.]

## II.

Let us resume the thread of events. The history of the Constitutional National Assembly, from the June days on, is the history of the supremacy and dissolution of the republican bourgeois party, the party which is known under the several names of "Tricolor Republican," "True Republican," "Political Republican," "Formal Republican," etc., etc.

Under the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe, this party had constituted the OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION, and consequently had been a recognized element in the then political world. It had its representatives in the Chambers, and commanded considerable influence in the press. Its Parisian organ, the "National," passed, in its way, for as respectable a paper as the "Journal des Debats." This position in the constitutional monarchy corresponded to its character. The party was not a fraction of the bourgeoisie, held together by great and common interests, and marked by special business requirements. It was a coterie of bourgeois with republican ideas—writers, lawyers, officers and civil employees, whose influence rested upon the personal antipathies of the country for Louis Philippe, upon reminiscences of the old Republic, upon the republican faith of a number of enthusiasts, and, above all, upon the spirit of French patriotism, whose hatred of the treaties of Vienna and of the alliance with England kept them perpetually on the alert. The "National" owed a large portion of its following under Louis Philippe to this covert imperialism, that, later, under the republic, could stand up against it as a deadly competitor in the person of Louis Bonaparte. The paper fought the aristocracy of finance just the same as did the whole rest of the bourgeoisie opposition. The polemic against the budget, which, in France, was closely connected with the opposition to the aristocracy of finance, furnished too cheap a popularity and too rich a material for Parliamentary leading articles, not to be exploited. The industrial bourgeoisie was thankful to it for its servile defence of the French tariff system, which, however, the paper had taken up more out of patriotic than economic reasons; the whole bourgeoisie class was thankful to it for its vicious denunciations of Communism and Socialism. For the rest, the party of the "National" was PURELY REPUBLICAN, i. e., it demanded a republican instead of a monarchic form of bourgeois government; above all, it demanded for the bourgeoisie the lion's share of the government. As to how this transformation was to be accomplished, the party was far from being clear. What, however, was clear as day to it and was openly declared at the reform banquets during the last days of Louis Philippe's reign, was its unpopularity with the democratic middle class, especially with the revolutionary proletariat. These pure republicans, as pure republicans go, were at first on the very point of contenting themselves with the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, when the February revolution broke out, and when it gave their best known representatives a place in the provisional government. Of course, they enjoyed from the start the confidence of the bourgeoisie and of the majority of the Constitutional National Assembly. The Socialist elements of the Provisional Government were promptly excluded from the Executive Committee, which the Assembly had elected upon its convening, and the party of the "National" subsequently utilized the outbreak of the June insurrection to dismiss this Executive Committee also, and thus rid itself of its nearest rivals—the SMALL TRADERS' CLASS or DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS (Ledru-Rollin, etc.). Cavaignac, the General of the bourgeois republican party, who commanded at the battle of June, stepped into the place of the Executive Committee with a sort of dictatorial power. Marrast, former editor-in-chief of the "National," became permanent President of the Constitutional National Assembly; and the Secretaryship of State, together with all the other important posts, devolved upon the pure republicans.

The republican bourgeois party, which since long had looked upon itself as the legitimate heir of the July monarchy, thus found itself surpassed in its own ideal; but it came into power, not as it had dreamed under Louis Philippe, through a liberal revolt of the bourgeoisie against the throne, but through a grape-shot-and-canistered mutiny of the proletariat against Capital. That which it imagined to be the MOST REVOLUTIONARY event, came about as the MOST COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY event. The fruit fell into its lap, but it fell from the Tree of Knowledge, not from the Tree of Life.

The exclusive power of the bourgeois republicans lasted only from June 24 to the 10th of December, 1848. It is summed up in the FRAMING OF A REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION and in PARIS IN A STATE OF SIEGE.

The new Constitution was in substance only a republicitized edition of the constitutional charter of 1830. The limited suffrage of the July monarchy, which excluded even a large portion of the bourgeoisie from political power, was irreconcilable with the existence of the bourgeois republic. The February revolution had forthwith proclaimed direct and universal suffrage in the place of the old law. The bourgeois republicans could not annul this act. They had to content themselves with tacking to it the limitation of a six months' residence. The old organization of the administrative law, of municipal government, of court procedures, of the army, etc., remained untouched, or, where the constitution did change them, the change affected their index, not their subject; their name, not their substance.

The inevitable "General Staff" of the "freedoms" of 1848—personal freedom, freedom of the press, of speech, of association and of assembly, freedom of instruction, of religion, etc.—received a constitutional uniform that rendered them invulnerable. Each of these freedoms is proclaimed the absolute right of the French citizen, but always with the gloss that it is unlimited in so far only as it is not curtailed by the "equal rights of others," and by the "public safety," or by the "laws," which are intended to effect this harmony. For instance:

"Citizens have the right of association, of peaceful and unarmed assembly, of petitioning, and of expressing their opinions through the press or otherwise. THE ENJOYMENT OF THESE RIGHTS HAS NO LIMITATION OTHER THAN THE EQUAL RIGHTS OF OTHERS AND THE PUBLIC SAFETY." (Chap. II. of the French Constitution, Section 8.)

"Education is free. The freedom of education shall be ENJOYED under the conditions provided by law, and under the supervision of the State." (Section 9.)

"The domicile of the citizen is inviolable, except under the forms prescribed by law." (Chap. I., Section 3.), etc., etc.

The Constitution, it will be noticed, constantly alludes to future organic laws, that are to carry out the glosses, and are intended to regulate the enjoyment of these unabridged freedoms, to the end that they collide neither with one another nor with the public safety. Later on, the organic laws are called into existence by the "Friends of Order," and all the above named freedoms are so regulated that, in their enjoyment, the bourgeoisie encounter no opposition from the like rights of the other classes. Wherever the bourgeoisie wholly interdicted these rights to "others," or allowed them their enjoyment under conditions that were but so many police snares, it was always done only in the interest of the "public safety," i. e., of the bourgeoisie, as required by the Constitution.

Hence it comes that both sides—the "Friends of Order," who abolished all those freedoms, as well as the democrats, who had demanded them all—appeal with full right to the Constitution. Each paragraph of the Constitution contains its own antithesis, its own Upper and Lower House—freedom as a generalization, the abolition of freedom as a specification. Accordingly, so long as the NAME of freedom was respected, and only its real enforcement was prevented—in a legal way, of course—the constitutional existence of freedom remained uninjured, untouched, however completely its COMMON existence might be extinguished.

This Constitution, so thoughtfully made invulnerable, was, however, like Achilles, vulnerable at one point: not in its heel, but in its head, or rather, in the two heads into which it ran out—the Legislative Assembly, on the one hand, and President on the other. Run through the Constitution and it will be found that only those paragraphs wherein the relation of the President to the Legislative Assembly is defined, are absolute, positive, uncontradictory, indisputable. Here the bourgeois republicans were concerned in securing their own position. Articles 45-70 of the Constitution are so framed that the National Assembly can constitutionally remove the President, but the President can set aside the National Assembly only unconstitutionally, he can set it aside only by setting aside the Constitution itself. Accordingly, by these provisions, the National Assembly challenges its own violent destruction. It not only consecrates, like the charter of 1830, the division of powers, but it extends this feature to an unbearable contradictory extreme. The "play of constitutional powers," as Guizot styled the clapper-clawings between the legislative and the executive powers, plays permanent "vabanque" in the Constitution of 1848. On the one side, 750 representatives of the people, elected and qualified for re-election by universal suffrage, who constitute an uncontrollable, indissoluble, indivisible National Assembly, a National Assembly that enjoys legislative omnipotence, that decides in the last instance over war, peace and commercial treaties, that alone has the power to grant amnesties, and that, through its perpetuity, continually maintains the foreground on the stage; on the other, a President, clad with all the attributes of royalty, with the right to appoint and remove his ministers independently from the national assembly, holding in his hands all the means of executive power, the dispenser of all posts, so many being dependent of at least one and a half million livings in France, so many being dependent upon the 500,000 civil employees and upon the officers of all grades. He has the whole armed power behind him. He enjoys the privilege of granting pardons to individual criminals; suspending the National Guards; of removing with the consent of the Council of State the general, cantonal and municipal Councils elected by the citizens themselves. The initiative and direction of all negotiations with foreign countries are reserved to him. While the Assembly itself is constantly acting upon the stage, and is exposed to the critically vulgar light of day, he leads a hidden life in the Elysian fields, only with Article 45 of the Constitution before his eyes and in his heart daily calling out to him: "Frère, il faut mourir!" Your power expires on the second Sunday of the beautiful month of May, in the fourth year after your election! The glory is at an end; the play is not performed twice; and, if you have any debts, see then at it betimes that you pay them off with the 600,000 francs that the Constitution has set aside for you, unless, perchance, you should prefer traveling to Clichy on the second Monday of the beautiful month of May.

While the Constitution thus clothes the President with actual power, it seeks to secure the moral power to the National Assembly. Apart from the circumstance that it is impossible to produce a moral power through legislative paragraphs, the Constitution again neutralizes itself in that it causes the President to be chosen by all the Frenchmen through direct suffrage. While the

votes of France are splintered to pieces upon the 750 members of the National Assembly, they are here, on the contrary, concentrated upon ONE individual. While each separate Representative represents only this or that party, this or that city, this or that dunghill, or possibly only the necessity of electing some one Seven-hundred-and-fiftieth or other, with whom neither the issue nor the man is closely considered, that ONE, the President, on the contrary, is the elect of the nation, and the act of his election is the trump card, that the sovereign people plays out once every four years. The elected National Assembly stands in a metaphysical, but the elected President in a personal relation to the nation. True enough, the National Assembly presents in its several Representatives the various sides of the national spirit, but, in the President, this spirit is incarnated. As against the National Assembly, the President possesses a sort of divine right, he is by the grace of the people.

Thetis, the sea-goddess, had prophesied to Achilles that he would die in the bloom of youth. The Constitution, which had its weak spot, like Achilles, had also, like Achilles, the presentiment that it would depart by premature death. It was enough for the pure republicans, engaged at the work of framing a constitution, to cast a glance from the misty heights of their ideal republic down upon the profane world in order to realize how the arrogance of the royalists, of the Bonapartists, of the democrats, of the Communists, rose daily, together with their own discredit, and in the same measure as they approached the completion of their legislative work of art, without Thetis having for this purpose to leave the sea and impart the secret to them. They sought to outwit fate by means of constitutional artifice, through Section 111 of the Constitution, according to which every motion to revise the Constitution had to be discussed three successive times, between each of which a full month was to elapse, and required at least a three-fourths majority, with the additional proviso that not less than 500 members of the National Assembly voted. They thereby only made the impotent attempt, still to exercise as a parliamentary minority, to which in their mind's eye they prophetically saw themselves reduced, a power, that, at this very time, when they still disposed over the parliamentary majority and over all the machinery of government, was daily slipping from their weak hands.

Finally, the Constitution entrusts itself for safe keeping, in a melodramatic paragraph, "to the watchfulness and patriotism of the whole French people, and of each individual Frenchman," after having just before, in another paragraph, entrusted the "watchful" and the "patriotic" themselves to the tender, inquisitorial attention of the High Court, instituted by itself.

That was the Constitution of 1848, which, on the 2d of December, 1851, was not overthrown, by some head, but tumbled down at the touch of a mere hat; though, true enough, that hat was a three-cornered Napoleon hat.

While the bourgeois republicans were engaged in the Assembly with the work of splicing this Constitution, of discussing and voting, Cavaignac, on the outside, maintained the state of siege in Paris. The state of siege of Paris was the midwife of the constitutional assembly, during its republican pains of travail. When the constitution is later on swept off the earth with the bayonet, it should not be forgotten that it was with the bayonet, likewise—and the bayonet turned against the people, at that—that it had to be protected in its mother's womb, and that by the bayonet it had to be planted on earth. The ancestors of these "honest republicans" had caused their symbol, the tricolor, to make the tour of Europe. These, in their turn, also made a discovery, which, all of itself, found its way over the whole continent, but, with ever renewed love, returned back to France, until, by this time, it had acquired the right of citizenship in one-half of her Departments—the STATE OF SIEGE. A wondrous discovery this was, periodically applied at each succeeding crisis in the course of the French revolution. But the barrack and the bivouac, thus periodically laid on the head of French society, to compress her brain and reduce her to quiet; the sabre and the musket, periodically made to perform the functions of judges and of administrators, of guardians and of censors, of police officers and of watchmen; the military moustache and the soldier's jacket periodically heralded as the highest wisdom and guiding stars of society—were not all of these, the barrack and the bivouac, the sabre and the musket, the moustache and the soldier's jacket bound, in the end, to hit upon the idea that they might as well save society once for all, by proclaiming their own régime as supreme, and relieve bourgeois society wholly of the care of ruling itself? The barrack and the bivouac, the sabre and the musket, the moustache and the soldier's jacket were all the more bound to hit upon this idea, seeing that they could then also expect better cash payment for their increased deserts, while at the merely periodic states of siege and the transitory savings of society at the behest of this or that bourgeois faction, very little solid matter fell to them except some dead and wounded, besides some friendly bourgeois grimaces. Should not the military, finally, in and for its own interest, play the game of "state of siege," and simultaneously besiege the bourgeois exchanges? Moreover, it must not be forgotten, and be it observed in passing, that COL. BARNARD, the same President of the Military Committee, who, under Cavaignac, helped to deport 15,000 insurgents without trial, moves at this period again at the head of the Military Committees now active in Paris.

Although the honest, the pure republicans built with the state of siege the nursery in which the Praetorian guards of December 2, 1851, were to be reared, they, on the other hand, deserve praise in that, instead of exaggerating the feeling of patriotism, as under Louis Philippe, now that they themselves are in command of the national power, they crawl before foreign powers; instead of making Italy free, they allow her to be reconquered by Austrians and Neapolitans. The election of Louis Bonaparte for President on December 10, 1848, put an end to the dictatorship of Cavaignac and to the constitutional assembly.

In Article 44 of the Constitution it is said: "The President of the French Republic must never have lost his quality of French citizen." The first President of the French Republic, L. N. Bonaparte, had not only lost his quality of French citizen, had not only been an English special constable, but was even a naturalized Swiss citizen.

In the previous chapter I have explained the meaning of the election of December 10. I shall not here return to it. Suffice it here to say that it was a REACTION OF THE FARMERS' CLASS, who had been expected to pay the costs of the February revolution, against the other classes of the nation: it was a REACTION OF THE COUNTRY AGAINST THE CITY. It met with great favor among the soldiers, to whom the republicans of the "National" had brought neither fame nor funds; among the great bourgeoisie, who hailed Bonaparte as a bridge to the monarchy; and among the proletarians and small traders, who hailed him as a scourge to Cavaignac. I shall later have occasion to enter closer into the relation of the farmers to the French revolution.

The epoch between December 20, 1848, and the dissolution of the constitutional assembly in May, 1849, embraces the history of the downfall of the bourgeois republicans. After they had founded a republic for the bourgeoisie, had driven the revolutionary proletariat from the field, and had temporarily silenced the democratic middle class, they are themselves shoved aside by the mass of the bourgeoisie, who justly appropriate this republic as their property. This bourgeois mass was ROYALIST, however. A part thereof, the large landed proprietors, hence, was LEGITIMIST; the other part, the aristocrats of finance and the large industrial capitalists, had ruled under the July monarchy, hence, was ORLEANIST. The high functionaries of the Army, of the University, of the Church, in the civil service, of the Academy and of the press, divided themselves on both sides, although in unequal parts. Here, in the bourgeois republic, that bore neither the name of BOURBON, nor of ORLEANS, but the name of CAPITAL, they had found the form of government under which they could all rule in common. Already the June insurrection had united them all into a "Party of Order." The next thing to do was to remove the bourgeois republicans, who still held the seats in the National Assembly. As brutally as these pure republicans had abused their own physical power against the people, so cowardly, low-spirited, disheartened, broken, powerless did they yield, now when the issue was the maintenance of their own republicanism and their own legislative rights against the Executive power and the royalists. I need not here narrate the shameful history of their dissolution. It was not a downfall, it was extinction. Their history is at an end for all time. In the period that follows, they figure, whether within or without the Assembly, only as mementos—mementos that seem again to come to life so soon as the question is again only about the word "Republic," and as often as the revolutionary conflict threatens to sink down to the lowest level. In passing, I might observe that the Journal which gave to this party its name, the "National," goes over to Socialism during the following period.

Before we close this period, we must cast a look back upon the two powers, one of which destroys the other on December 2, 1851, while, from December 20, 1848, down to the departure of the constitutional assembly, they live in marital relations. We mean Louis Bonaparte, on the one hand, and, on the other, the party of the coalized royalists, of Order, and of the large bourgeoisie.

At the inauguration of his presidency, Bonaparte forthwith framed a ministry out of the party of Order, at whose head he placed Odilon Barrot, be it noted, the old leader of the liberal wing of the parliamentary bourgeoisie. Mr. Barrot had finally hunted down a seat in the ministry, the spook of which had been pursuing him since 1830, and, what is more, he had the chairmanship in this ministry, although not, as he had imagined under Louis Philippe, the promoted leader of the parliamentary opposition, but with the commission to kill the Legitimists, as an ally of all his arch enemies, the Jesuits and the prostituted. As to Bonaparte, he seemed to eclipse himself completely. The party of Order acted for him.

Immediately at the first session of the ministry the expedition to Rome was decided upon, which, it was there agreed, was to be carried out behind the back of the National Assembly, and the funds for which, it was equally agreed, were to be wrung from the Assembly under false pretences. Thus the start was made with a swindle on the National Assembly, together with a secret conspiracy with the absolute foreign powers against the revolutionary Roman republic. In the same way, and with a similar maneuver, did Bonaparte prepare his stroke of December 2 against the royalist legislature and its constitutional republic. Let it not be forgotten that the same party, which, on December 20, 1848, constituted Bonaparte's ministry, constituted also, on December 2, 1851, the majority of the legislative National Assembly.

In August, the constitutional assembly decided not to dissolve until it had prepared and promulgated a whole series of organic laws, intended to supplement the Constitution. The party of Order proposed to the Assembly, through Representative Râteau, on January 6, 1849, to let the organic laws go, and rather to order its own dissolution. Not the ministry alone, with Mr. Odilon Barrot at its head, but all the royalist members of the National Assembly were also at this time hectoring to it that its dissolution was necessary for the restoration of the public credit, for the consolidation of order, to put an end to the existing uncertain and provisional, and establish a definite state of things; they claimed that its continued existence hindered the effectiveness of the new Government, that it sought to prolong its life out of pure malice, and that the country was tired of it. Bonaparte took notice of all these invectives hurled at the legislative power, he learned them by heart, and, on December 2, 1851, he showed the parliamentary royalists that he had learned from them. He repeated their own slogans against themselves.

The Barrot ministry and the party of Order went further. They called all over France for petitions to the National Assembly in which the body was politely requested to disappear. Thus they led the people's unorganic masses to the fray against the National Assembly, i. e., against the constitutionally

organized expression of the people itself. They taught Bonaparte to appeal from the parliamentary body to the people. Finally, on January 29, 1849, the day arrived when the constitutional assembly was to decide about its own dissolution. On that day the body found its building occupied by the military; Changarnier, the General of the party of Order, in whose hands was joined the supreme command of both the National Guards and the regulars, held that day a great military review, as though a battle were imminent; and the coalized royalists declared threateningly to the constitutional assembly that force would be applied if it did not act willingly. It was willing, and chattered off for a very short respite. What else was the 29th of January, 1849, than the "coup d'état" of December 2, 1851 only, executed by the royalists with Napoleon's aid against the republican National Assembly? These gentlemen did not notice, or did not want to notice, that Napoleon utilized the 29th of January, 1849, to cause a part of the troops to file before him in front of the Tuilleries, and that he seized with avidity this very first open exercise of the military against the parliamentary power in order to hint at Caligula. The coalized royalists saw only their own Changarnier.

Another reason that particularly moved the party of Order forcibly to shorten the term of the constitutional assembly were the organic laws, the laws that were to supplement the Constitution, as, for instance, the laws on education, on religion, etc. The coalized royalists had every interest in framing these laws themselves, and not allowing them to be framed by the already suspicious republicans. Among these organic laws, there was, however, one on the responsibility of the President of the republic. In 1851 the Legislature was just engaged in framing such a law when Bonaparte forestalled that political stroke by his own of December 2. What all would not, the coalized royalists had given in their winter parliamentary campaign of 1851, had they but found this "Responsibility law" ready made, and framed at that, by the suspicious, the vicious republican Assembly!

After, on January 29, 1849, the constitutional assembly had itself broken its last weapon, the Barrot ministry, and the "Friends of Order" harassed it to death, left nothing undone to humiliate it, and wrung from its weakness, dispairing of itself, laws that cost it the last vestige of respect with the public. Bonaparte, occupied with his own fixed Napoleonic idea, was audacious enough openly to exploit this degradation of the parliamentary power. When the National Assembly, on May 8, 1849, passed a vote of censure upon the Ministry on account of the occupation of Civita-Vecchia by Oudinot, and ordered that the Roman expedition be brought back to its alleged purpose, Bonaparte published that same evening in the "Moniteur" a letter to Oudinot, in which he congratulated him on his heroic feats, and already, in contrast with the quill-pushing parliamentarians, posed as the generous protector of the Army. The royalists smiled at this. They took him simply for their dupe. Finally, as Marrast, the President of the constitutional assembly, believed on a certain occasion the safety of the body to be in danger, and, resting on the Constitution, made a requisition upon a colonel, together with his regiment, the Colonel refused obedience, took refuge behind the "discipline," and referred Marrast to Changarnier, who scornfully sent him off with the remark that he did not like "bayonettes intelligentes." In November, 1851, as the coalized royalists wanted to begin the decisive struggle with Bonaparte, they sought, by means of their notorious "Questors Bill," to put through the principle of the right of the President of the National Assembly to issue direct requisitions for troops. One of their Generals, Leflo, signed the motion. In vain did Changarnier vote for it, or did Thiers render homage to the cautious wisdom of the late constitutional assembly. The Minister of War, St. Armand, answered him as Changarnier had answered Marrast—and he did so amidst the plaudits of the Mountain.

Thus did the party of Order itself, when as yet it was not the National Assembly, when as yet it was only a Ministry, brand the parliamentary regime. And yet this party objects vociferously when the 2d of December, 1851, banishes that regime from France!

We wish it a happy journey.

(To be continued.)

\* Intelligent bayonets.

## THE PROLETARIAT, AGAIN.

The uplifting of the proletariat from its degradation is an inevitable and natural process; but the process is neither a peaceful nor a uniform one. The tendencies of the capitalist system of production are to debase the working population. The moral new birth of the proletariat is possible only by antagonizing these tendencies and their promoters, the capitalists, and this can be done only by imparting sufficient strength to the counter tendencies that are born of the new conditions in the camp of the proletariat itself, the conditions under which the working class toils and lives.

The debasing tendencies of the capitalist system are, however, very different at different periods, in different localities, and in different industries; they depend upon the condition of the market, upon the degree of competition among the several establishments, upon the grade reached in the development of machinery in the respective branches of industry, upon the extent and measure of the clearness with which the capitalists understand their own class interests, etc., etc. Likewise do the counter tendencies that develop in the several layers of the proletariat depend upon manifold circumstances: they depend, in turn, upon the customs and wants of the population from whose ranks the class of the proletariat has been recruited, upon the degree of skill or strength required in the respective industries; upon the extent to which woman and child labor prevails; upon the size of the industrial reserve army, which is very different in several industries; upon the clearness with which the working people perceive their class interests; and lastly upon the nature of the work whether it isolates or brings the workers together.

Each of these several sets of circumstances in the several industries and subdivisions of the proletariat vary not only greatly, but they are subject to constant changes owing to the uninterrupted course of the technical and economic revolution in production. Every day capital subjects some new section of the country and some new branch of industry to its process of exploitation and reduces the respective population to the level of proletarians; every day new branches of industry spring into life, and existing ones are revolutionized. The spectacle presented at the inception of the capitalist system of production is seen to-day. Even now, new layers of the population are thrown into the class of the working proletariat, others sink below into the slums, and others again rise above the lowest grades; among the working proletarians themselves there is a constant flux and reflux noticeable; some portions are seen to rise, others to decline, according as the uplifting or the depressing tendencies may temporarily have the upper hand.

Fortunately, however, for the cause of human rejuvenation, a time is reached, sooner or later, by most of the layers of the proletariat, when the uplifting tendencies obtain a decided mastery, and when they are effective enough to awaken in some section or another of the proletariat a consciousness of self, a consciousness of its class distinction, a consciousness of the solidarity of all its members and of the whole working class, a consciousness of power that is born of their close union. So soon as any portion of the proletariat has reached the understanding of the fact that its class is an indispensable economic element in society; so soon as the sense of self-respect is kindled in its ranks; so soon as it arrives at the conviction that a brighter future is in store for its class and that its emancipation depends upon itself; so soon as any portion of the proletariat has risen high enough in the understanding of its situation and its mission, then is its influence bound to per-

vade its whole class, and it becomes difficult to push it back into the level of those degraded beings, who are able to hate but not to hold out together in a prolonged struggle; who, despairing of their future, seek to forget their misery in debauch; and who have not the stamina for revolt, but are fit only for abject submission.

It is next to impossible to eradicate the class consciousness out of that portion of the proletarians where it has once taken hold. However strongly the debasing influences of the capitalist system may make themselves felt, they may be able to push down such a portion of the proletariat ECONOMICALLY, but never MORALLY, provided always the pressure be not crushing. With this exception, the pressure brought to bear by capitalism upon the class-conscious proletariat will have the effect of producing a counter pressure; it will not debase, but embitter; it will not degrade the proletariat to the ignominy of the slums, it will rise him to the dignity of martyrdom.

## A PICTURE.

(Continued from Page 1.)

man about Weaver and Todd, the two capitalist candidates for the Mayoralty. It is safe to say that the action of the fakirs will open the eyes of many of the rank and file, especially those union men who heard Carless were very angry because the privilege was denied thousands of their fellow workmen simply through the ignorance, cowardice and corrupt motives of the fakirs.

Tuesday night, September 7th, Comrade Carless spoke to the largest open air meeting of the campaign at Campbell and Walnut streets, and the Comrades were grieved at the fact that it was also the noisiest and most disorderly crowd that we have spoken to as yet.

While Comrade Leyle was making the opening remarks, some dirty old party heeler threw a missile at him, which struck him squarely on the side of the eye. The Comrade stood his ground bravely, although taken by surprise, and concluded his remarks by giving the culprit and all his associates a good lashing. The crowd being too large, it was out of the question to pick out the offender, so Comrade Carless, upon taking the platform, reviewed the various movements in history whose pioneers suffered insult and abuse from the very people whom they came to save, but whose principles finally triumphed over all. Continuing, he said that the action he had witnessed proved that the Louisville Comrades were doing their work well indeed, since the only answer to their arguments were those employed by ruffians.

Wednesday night Comrade Carless spoke in New Albany, and from there he proceeded to Evansville. It is safe to say that all who heard him will join us in the wish that he may be with us soon again.

## THE PRESS COMMITTEE.

Mr. John Foster, of Philadelphia, gives an excellent illustration of how people will contradict themselves when they do not know the meaning of the words they use, and again, how wary one must be in taking such people seriously.

In a letter written by him to the N. E. C. of the Socialist Labor party, requesting a "union of forces" of the S. L. P. and Mr. Debs' party, printed in THE PEOPLE of two weeks ago, he talks about "humanity" as the thing to be striven for; thereupon last week he pours out a tirade against immigration.

That this man don't know what humanity means is clear; that, furthermore, he don't know anything else, is clearer. If he did he would know that, not immigration, but the private ownership of the machinery of production is the cause of the trouble.

Think of such elements telling us we both want the same thing!



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## PARTY NEWS.

### Activity of Militant Socialists East, West, North and South.

#### SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William Street, N. Y.  
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary M. S. Hayes, 115 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

#### National Executive Committee.

Meeting of September 14th, with Comrade Stahl in the chair. Comrade Bennett was absent and excused. The financial report for the week ending September 11th showed receipts to have been \$42.65; expenditures, \$40.70; balance, \$1.95.

Resolved to call upon all the Sections of the party to hold indignation meetings to protest against the wanton massacre of the striking miners at Latimer, Pa.

The Executive Committee of Polish Sections and branches sends a communication stating that they have elected Miss Helen Sawicki as editor of "Sila." It is decided to concur in this action; also that Section Buffalo is to elect the Press Committee, which is to manage the affairs of "Sila," because the Polish Branch, being a sub-division of Section Buffalo, can be held responsible only through the Section anyway.

The Board of Appeals reports to have sustained upon appeal the action of Section Philadelphia in suspending the Jewish Branch.

Charters were granted to new Sections in Eureka, Cal.; Fuller, Kan.; Hudson, Mass.; Irwin and West Newton, Pa.

The Committee on Charter and Awards sends a report stating that Comrade Walter Crane, of London, England, has agreed to draw the design for the new party charter.

L. A. MALKIEL, Rec. Sec'y.

#### Colorado.

DENVER, Sept. 10.—On the 5th inst. the Socialist Labor party met in convention and nominated the following ticket:

For Judge of the Supreme Court:

NATHAN L. GRIEST.

For Sheriff:

HENRY WARNECKE.

For County Clerk:

KASPAR BAUER.

For District Attorney:

CHAS. FLACH.

For County Treasurer:

A. E. SELMER.

For County Coroner:

ALBERT MERKER.

For Superintendent of Schools:

NEILS C. MADSEN.

For County Surveyor:

GEORGE BAUER.

#### Massachusetts.

LYNN, Mass., Sept. 9.—A vote was passed protesting against any member employed as speaker by the State Committee acting as agent for any paper except those officially recognized by the party, and a copy sent to the Secretary of the S. C. Committee.

#### New Jersey.

PATERSON, N. J., Sept. 14.—The convention of the Socialist Labor party of Passaic County will be held in the Town Clock building, 209 Main street, on Saturday evening, Sept. 18th, to nominate candidates for Senator, Sheriff and members of Assembly. As it will be a mass convention all members will be required to show their due cards.

MATHEW MAGUIRE, Secretary County Committee.

#### New York.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Sept. 11.—The Socialists of Onondaga County and the city of Syracuse are requested to attend the primaries of the Socialist Labor party, to be held Friday, Sept. 17, at 7:30 to 9 p. m., in Labor Hall, for the purpose of electing delegates to the County, Assembly and City Conventions to be held Friday, Sept. 24, at 7:30 p. m., in Labor Hall, when candidates will be nominated for the several offices to be filled at the ensuing election. The representation is five delegates from each ward and town.

As the number of offices to be nominated for is 77, every member of the party should be present at the primaries.

TROY, N. Y., Sept. 12.—The members of the S. L. P. in Troy and all Socialist voters in Rensselaer County, New York, are hereby notified to attend a convention of voters of said county to be held at Germania Hall, on Thursday evening, September 23d, at 8 p. m., for the purpose of making nominations for county and city offices, and for the transaction of general business looking to the welfare of the party.

W. B. CHRISTOPHER, Organizer, Sec. Troy.

#### Ohio.

CINCINNATI, O., Sept. 20.—The movement in Cincinnati, which until a year ago was suffering from a relapse occasioned by trying to walk when scarcely able to sit erect, has within the last week received an impetus that will take monstrous obstructions to be checked. On Friday evening, September 27th, Comrade Harry Carless arrived in this city from Hamilton, O. Hasty arrangements for an open air meeting were completed, to take place at Garfield Place. Accompanied by a half dozen comrades, Carless opened the meeting with a stirring address, lasting an hour and a half, during which he held the audience spellbound. A goodly number of signatures was secured, and several names handed in of persons desiring a closer connection with the S. L. P. Saturday night another open air meeting was held at Fountain Square, but the close proximity of the street cars and passing vehicles marred the effectiveness somewhat. Comrade Pandorf

presided and addressed the audience for ten minutes, being followed by Comrade Carless, who was interrupted repeatedly by a silverite ward heeler and an agitator of the same ilk; the former was silenced by a few well selected words, to the delight of the audience; the latter withdrew into his shell until after the address, when he asked a question with a ticket attached: "I want this question answered now, in this manner, and it is asked by ME." As Comrade Carless was about to answer, the individual shouted again "Answer!" and, surrounded by his pack of trained dogs, was having a little outing. He was requested to step on the platform and state his question, to which he complied, and then attempted to hold an opposition meeting, but failed. Comrade Carless answered his question, and challenged him to a joint debate, which was accepted, whereupon the meeting closed.

Sunday night an instructive lecture was delivered at G. A. R. Hall, the stereopticon views helping to vivify and impress the telling points upon the minds of the audience. Monday night the joint debate between the "big gun" silver expounder and Comrade Carless occurred. A large and enthusiastic audience was present. Subject: "Resolved, That the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 will benefit the wage-worker." It is needless to say that what remained of the benefits to be derived from free silver after the debate were those which would come to the politicians upon being appointed to some political office. A partisan Republican press gave considerable publicity to it, much to the chagrin of the Democrats, by glancing over whose papers one would reach the conclusion that nothing had disturbed the ballistics of 16 to 1. A more instructive lesson in economy has not been given for some time.

Taken as a whole, the result from the meetings exceeded our most sanguine expectations. With prospects of an increased membership and the occupancy of new quarters, the atmosphere is bound to rise despite the approaching winter.

Lectures given every Wednesday evening at Trades Union Hall, Court, between Walnut and Main streets.

## WORTHINGTON'S.

(Continued from Page 1.)

slave; some made as much as \$100 in a month over and above their wages. The Klondyke could not compare with it. The cylinders were then cut in price to \$3 each. The man put on a little heavier cut; did a cylinder and a half in a day, thus bringing the wages up to \$4.50 once more. Still another cut took place, down came the cylinders to \$2. This caused a commotion. The contract system was cursed. Instead of making \$100, they now found that at the end of the month they were in debt from \$15 to \$70.

Then they drove the machines quicker. Faster and faster flew the chips. No more going in leisurely at 7 a. m., to start at 7:15. Every man was now dressed at 6:50, waiting with his hand on the shifter for the whistle to blow. The bitter feeling between the nationalities increased. One set of workers accused the other of "rushing," thus causing the prices to go down. Here the Machiavellian hand of the new superintendent (of whom more anon) was seen. An old Irish foreman named Con Drew was taken from the Irish side and placed over amongst the Scandinavians, men whom he disliked on general principles; the Scandinavian foreman was placed over the Irish, bringing with him a number of his countrymen. Now all attempts to run the machines slow went by the board, none of the solidarity of new trades unionism was present. Each worker was at the other's throat; it was now every man for himself, God for us all, and the devil take the hindmost.

This was the condition of affairs just before the election. Some weeks previous to election, a shallow-pated noodle, who pounds a typewriter (a machine—not a woman) for a living at a salary of \$12, organized the voting cattle into "sound money" clubs, and proceeded to teach the mysteries of the money question to said V. C., although he knew as much about the laws of value, intrinsic and otherwise, as a Chinaman does about corn beef and cabbage. They marched in Mark Hanna's parade—and took a couple of days off to watch the advent of the Advance Agent of the trusts' prosperity. They are waiting and marching yet, for no sooner was Hanna elected than the cuts in the contract prices returned. Since election, up to last Thursday a week, their piece or contract prices went down 10 per cent. more. Goaded to desperation by this last cut, eight of the Scandinavian workers, led by a Socialist, threw down their tools and walked out. A meeting was called for last Thursday night for the purpose of organizing the shop. A representative of the S. T. & L. A. and George H. Warner, representing the International Association of Machinists, were present. The pure and simple Warner had a fellow committeeman from the South Brooklyn Local of the I. A. M. This worthy asked the floor for Warner, saying: "I heard some one say that Mr. Warner was a walking delegate at a salary of \$21 per week. This is not too much for a union man. He gave up a job in the Navy Yard at a salary of \$3.50 per day to help along the cause of trades unionism." One of the workers present, a Socialist, said: "He did not give it up; he was fired." Warner now pushed his way to the front, demanded the floor to deny this, got the floor, and occupied ten minutes with a labored explanation, showing that he had only been "suspended." As suspension and discharging are synonymous terms in the Navy Yard, Mr. Warner merely succeeded in making himself ridiculous.

The Alliance representative now got the floor, and proceeded to show how impotent the old trades unions were in the face of changed economic conditions, of the sub-division of labor, that was now a feature of all large machine shops. He told how the only hope for the workers lay in a movement of the workers that would fight the exploiter with both arms—the political as well as the economic; of the necessity of solidarity, etc. I refrain from giving the speech in full, as a later speech from one of our comrades, who was one of the workers, in reply to Warner's next effort, is of more importance, as it had the effect of driving the fakirs from the hall.

Warner again got the floor and delivered himself as follows: "Fellow Workers—I am a Socialist. I have voted the Socialist ticket for the past five years. But I want to say that if there is one thing more than another that will retard the cause of Socialism, it is men like the last speaker, who has made many statements, nine-tenths of which were false." Here the Alliance man stepped forward and requested Warner to state ONE that was false. This paralyzed Warner, as he could not think of ONE, none having been made. After an awkward pause he continued, "Mr. Chairman—I claim if you want to wash windows you must do it with clean water; if you use dirty water, as the Socialists do, you will not be able to see in the windows." This beautiful simile was laughed at, while Warner continued: "By all means let us vote for Socialism, but there is no way of voting now. There is no ballot box at the corner. We cannot vote next week. What we must do is to organize now. Fight Worthington in the shop. We have already got \$3.25 per day for eight hours' work for the machinists on outside work of Worthington's. I can go and see the superintendent of the shop. I can give you the assistance of the Board of Walking Delegates. I can give you the assistance of Mr. Perrine, who controls the moulders, and Mr. Pallas, who controls the pattern-makers. You can fight on election day if you want to. No sand-bagging now. We will not let any one sand-bag us. We will fight in the shop. Beat Worthington there, and all will be well." This ended Mr. Warner's speech. What he meant by sand-bagging no one could find out. How you were going to vote for the S. L. P. on election day if you did not organize beforehand so as to be able to drill and educate the workers, he also failed to state. His speech was not very well liked by the fakirs present, who did not like to hear him say he voted the Socialist ticket, while it was well received by the pure and simple and some of those as yet ignorant. He stood complacently, not expecting the mine that was about to burst under his feet—an explosion that will burst the I. A. M. so badly that you won't be able to pick up the pieces in a sieve. This mine was in the form of a speech made by the afore-mentioned worker, who is a member of Empire City Lodge of Machinists, a Local attached to the Alliance, that had seceded from the I. A. M. The speech was as follows:

"Fellow Workers—The hour is getting late, and I will say but a few brief words. We have met here for the purpose of deciding what form of organization is the best for us to join. The S. T. & L. A., representing the new trades unionism, or the pure and simple form of organization, represented by the I. A. M. That it is impossible to join the last mentioned body I will show you by calling your attention to one fact. There are 500 men in this shop that we are about to organize. At least 75 per cent. of those men are unskilled men, yet they are running machines. THUS YOU CAN ONLY ORGANIZE 25 PER CENT. OF THE SHOP. Now, if the whole shop is not organized 25 per cent. will go out on strike, 75 per cent. will stay in. Those 75 per cent. can run the shop, for the machine is now so simple that the step from the monitor lathe, now run by unskilled men, receiving \$1.40 per day. The drill press hands are also unskilled men. So with the milling machine men, to the regular lathe and planer is but a short step. The I. A. M., into which Mr. Warner wants to organize you, says in its constitution, 'We will not have any monkey-wrench machinists in the I. A. M.' Now, in the name of common sense, how can you go to organize on the old lines? (A voice: "Is that so?") Then the I. A. M. is not worth a damn." You are right. The old style is played out. YOU MUST ORGANIZE THE WHOLE SHOP OR YOUR ORGANIZATION IS WORTHLESS." (Cheers.)

This short speech created a profound sensation. The workers were slapped in the face by the fact that there was an aristocracy of labor, whose ranks, according to the laws of pure and simple, they could not enter. Warner's committeeman realized for the first time how matters stood, rose, and begged leave to withdraw from the committee, saying "that he did not know that this was the condition of affairs." Let us hope, as he appears to be honest, if simple, that he will pull out from the fakirs and come where he belongs, in the ranks of the class-conscious proletariat. It was now late. The night was insufferably hot. Warner had slid off when he realized how things were going. A motion to meet at Turn Hall, 16th street and 5th avenue, next Thursday, the 16th, at 8 p. m., was carried.

I have now told a truthful tale, one that he who runs may read. The mechanic, who was monarch of all he surveyed, has passed away. The simplification of the tool, the sub-division of labor, has killed him. A new set of conditions confronts the worker. As those old conditions have passed away, so also must pass the sort of unions that were applicable to those conditions. To meet those conditions the New Trades Union is formed.

As the tool is simplified and made more productive; as the old primeval curse, "Thou shalt live by the sweat of thy brow" is being removed; as the

# THE DAILY PEOPLE \$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to September 15th, 1897.

\$4,575.

J. Wolf, Milford, Mass. \$10 payable, Cash.

Total this week \$10

The following amounts have been paid down to September 14th, incl.:  
Previously acknowledged \$1942.90  
6th Ward German Branch, South Brooklyn, N. Y. \$25; Emil F. Kirchner, Jr., City \$1;  
Meyer Stodel, New Haven, Conn.; John Hossack, Jersey City, N. J. \$5. 22.00

Total \$1964.90

Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.

184 William St., N. Y.

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

—OF THE—

## UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

### PLATFORM.

The Socialist Labor Party of the United States, in Convention assembled, re-asserts the inalienable right of all men to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With the founders of the American republic we hold that the purpose of government is to secure every citizen in the enjoyment of this right; but in the light of our social conditions we hold, furthermore, that no such right can be exercised under a system of economic inequality, essentially destructive of life, of liberty and of happiness.

With the founders of this republic we hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be owned and controlled by the whole people; but in the light of our industrial development we hold, furthermore, that the true theory of economics is that the machinery of production must likewise belong to the people in common.

To the obvious fact that our despotic system of economics is the direct opposite of our democratic system of politics, can plainly be traced the existence of a privileged class, the corruption of government by that class, the alienation of public property, public franchises and public functions to that class, and the abject dependence of the mightiest of nations upon that class.

Again, through the perversion of democracy to the ends of plutocracy, labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Human power and natural forces are thus wasted, that the plutocracy may rule.

Ignorance and misery, with all their concomitant evils, are perpetuated, that the people may be kept in bondage.

Science and invention are diverted from their humane purpose to the enslavement of women and children.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party once more enters its protest. Once more it reiterates its fundamental declaration that private property in the natural sources of production and in the instruments of labor is the obvious cause of all economic servitude and political dependence.

The time is fast coming, however, when, in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalistic combinations on the other hand, shall have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of the United States, and upon all other honest citizens, to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class-conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them by taking possession of the public powers; so that, held together by an indomitable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle, we may put a summary end to that barbarous struggle by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

### RESOLUTIONS.

With a view to immediate improvement in the condition of labor we present the following demands:

1. Reduction in the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States to obtain possession of the mines, railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and all other means of public transportation and communication; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the Federal government and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants and all industries requiring municipal franchises; the employees to operate the same co-operatively under control of the municipal administration and to elect their own superior officers, but no employee shall be discharged for political reasons.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. The United States to have the exclusive right to issue money.
6. Congressional legislation providing for the scientific management of forests and waterways, and prohibiting the waste of the natural resources of the country.
7. Inventions to be free to all; the inventors to be remunerated by the nation.
8. Progressive income tax and tax on inheritances; the smaller incomes to be exempt.
9. School education of all children under fourteen years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books, etc., where necessary.
10. Repeal of all pauper, tramp, conspiracy and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
11. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age and the employment of female labor in occupations detrimental to health or morality. Abolition of the convict labor contract system.
12. Employment of the unemployed by the public authorities (county, city, state and nation).
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money of the United States. Equalization of woman's wages with those of men where equal service is performed.
14. Laws for the protection of life and limb in all occupations, and an efficient employers' liability law.
15. The people to have the right to propose laws and to vote upon all measures of importance, according to the referendum principle.
16. Abolition of the veto power of the Executive (national, state and municipal), wherever it exists.
17. Abolition of the United States Senate and all upper legislative chambers.
18. Municipal self-government.
19. Direct vote and secret ballots in all elections. Universal and equal right of suffrage without regard to color, creed or sex. Election days to be legal holidays. The principle of proportional representation to be introduced.
20. All public officers to be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
21. Uniform civil and criminal law throughout the United States. Administration of justice to be free of charge. Abolition of capital punishment.

working class is reaching that stage in which it is not the "working class" but the class that WANTS TO WORK; as the inventive genius of the skilled worker has lifted the human race up that stage of civilization, at which unbounded wealth for all, and the leisure necessary to enjoy that wealth has been reached, let us, knowing this, seize the Socialist ballot and bury the parasitic robber class of capitalists under it. As a preliminary step, let us organize under the banner of the S. T. & L. A., so that moving in a compact disciplined band, with our pathway lighted by the beacon lights of International Socialism,

we will move on the ballot box, capture the political power, and institute the Socialist Commonwealth.

More articles on this subject to follow. THE PEOPLE is to be had at 308 Columbia street (Murray cigar store), Brooklyn.

T. A. HICKEY.

### General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged \$3.00  
Arbeiter Buehne, Brooklyn, N. Y. 5.00  
Chas. C. Furman, Brooklyn, N. Y. 50

Total \$8.50

HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

### Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading free of charge at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahn Club (Musicians Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., 54 East 4th street, New York. Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meetings at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street—District 1 (German), 324 East 1st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 11 (German), at 213 Forsyth street every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 12 (German), at 157 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 14, meets at 342 West 42nd street every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of visitors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street. Secretary: HENRY ZUCKER.

German Walters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1000. D. A. 48, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 8 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, cor. Sec'y, Residence, 173 E. 4th St.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 2 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 70 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Scandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 8 o'clock a. m., at Schuler's Hall, 231-233 East St., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scandinavian Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AR. ARNSTADEN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 36th St. 35th A. E. Club, Cor. of 3d and 10th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Upholsterers' Union of New York and Vicinity. Meets 2d Sunday of every month at 8 p. m. at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th St. Secretary, Carl Anders, 21 East 2nd street.

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